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ABSTRACT

The report discusses socialization as related to the movement of Alaska natives from small villages to larger villages and finally to Alaska's urban centers. The study, which was limited to the village milieu of Northwest Alaska Eskimo communities, points out that a type of quasi-urban acculturation is brought about by the natives' increased expectations for Western material goods in conjunction with their problems arising from limited possibilities for achieving these expectations and in part from pressures found in shifting their value system. The study is divided into 2 major sections: (1) analysis of life in several small communities representative of the range of acculturative experiences in villages and (2) description and analysis of life in Nome, a large village. The impinging social forces from the outside and the natives' changing subsistent economy are discussed, as are Christianity and alcoholism in the socialization process of the natives. In conclusion, it is noted that the migration is creating the usual problems of employment, racial discrimination, and poor social adjustment which intensifies cultural shock for the natives. (FL)

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FROM VILLAGE TO TOWN:
AN INTERMEDIATE STEP IN THE ACCULTURATION OF ALASKA ESKIMOS

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INTRODUCTION

One of the most important aspects of contemporary Alaska Eskimo acculturation is the movement from the small villages, usually of recent origin, to larger villages and finally to Alaska's urban centers.[1]

This quasi-urban acculturation engenders serious stresses for Alaska natives, due in part to increased expectations for Western material goods, with limited possibilities for achieving these expectations and in part to the pressures commonly found in shifting entire value systems. The roots of this stressful acculturation can be found in the small villages themselves. Since the small village milieu is the primary socialization experience of most contemporary Alaska Eskimos regardless of their present residence, its dimensions and life style must be understood in order to comprehend the impact of urban or quasi-urban acculturation, which is one probable future for Alaska natives.[2] It is this village milieu to which we address ourselves, limiting our observations to Northwest Alaska Eskimo communities (although much of what will be said is applicable to Southwest Alaska as well).

Here, village descriptions and analyses necessarily must be brief. The reader wishing more detailed and broader ethnographic information is referred to one of the standard ethnographies on Alaska Eskimos.[3] We have chosen to focus on certain aspects of demography, economic change, migration, value shifts, and interracial interaction as the most critical areas for understanding contemporary Eskimo life.

To this end we have divided the work into two major sections: first, an analysis of life in several small communities representative of the range of acculturative experiences in villages, and second, a description and analysis of life in Nome, a large village.

ACCULTURATION IN THE SMALL VILLAGES OF NORTHWEST ALASKA

There are two main divisions of Eskimos in the Northwest area of Alaska--the Tauremiut, or people of the sea, and the Nunamiut, inland people or hunters of caribou. The Tauremiut occupied the coastal fringe around Northwest Alaska, including the Seward Peninsula. The Nunamiut occupied vast reaches of the Brooks Range and the upper drainage of the Kobuk River. Although not as important as they once were, these distinctions still exist and explain some of the minor differences between villages.

Originally, the territory from Kaktovik (Barter Island) to Point Hope was occupied by the Tauremiut, but this is no longer so. The repeated ravages of diseases introduced by contact with whites all but entirely eliminated the Tauremiut from the Canadian Border to Point Lay. The population in these areas has not only remained stable in numbers, but has increased, and this is due almost solely to migration of the Nunamiut to the coast.[4]

In earlier times (1850 to 1900) the Nunamiut came to the coast to take advantage of employment with whalers. By the turn of the century the Nunamiut were continuing to move into the coastal areas because of the temporary disappearance of caribou in the Brooks Range. At present the Nunamiut in the Brooks Range are reduced to a small band of just over 100 living in Anaktuvuk. However, their remnants make up the bulk of the North Coast population, the Upper Kobuk peoples, and part of Noatagmiut at Noatak.

An additional and most interesting group is that described by Giddings[5] as the "Arctic woodland culture." The Kobuk River group, both Upper and Lower, though of different origins, are almost totally dependent upon fishing and land mammals for subsistence and thereby make up a sort of third kind of Eskimo subsistence pattern. Its ancestry is mixed, being part Nunamiut, part Tauramiut, and part Athabascan Indian.

A major area of the Northwest is the Kotzebue Sound, Seward Peninsula, Unalakleet area. The Kotzebue Sound Eskimos, originally called the Kikitarmiut, and a number of other groups from Selawik to Buckland, including the Unalit of Unalakleet, make up a diverse population in this area. These people are a mixture of sea and land mammal hunters and fishers.

The Malemiut, who occupied not only the Seward Peninsula but also the Kotzebue Sound region up to Point Hope,[6] have now settled primarily in Nome, the Seward Peninsula villages, and Kotzebue. However, as Oswalt[7] notes, the Wales people (Kingikmiut) today are somewhat distinct from the central Seward Peninsula inhabitants, the Kauwerah.

Following Oswalt, all the East Norton Sound and Southestern Seward Peninsula people are classified as Unaligmiut (Unalakleet people), the people around Selawik as the Selawigmiut, and the people between Selawik and Noatak as Kovagmiut (Kobuk people).

Rationale for Village Selection

The villages in the Northwest can be categorized for analytic purposes in a number of ways. Depending upon the categories, different villages would be selected for description and analysis. We have selected broadly representative communities, and our choice was strongly conditioned by the amount, quality and recentness of the ethnographic material available concerning given villages, as well as the intensity of our own observations.

The communities are discussed in ethnographic present of 1967-68 and, although much of the material quoted which describes these villages is of an earlier vintage, it has been judged adequate for our purposes.

Our purpose has been to show the various impacts that white contact and its attendant changes have had on these villages. In the process of discussing various villages, we also have described the past in a general sense

for the entire area. Rather than giving some extended introductory ethnographic history and a discussion of past and present attitudes and values of both native and white, we have chosen to weave parts of such a discussion into each of the village descriptions.

Another guiding principle in organizing this study was our attempt to show the interrelationship of the many factors affecting Northwest Alaska Eskimos. An analysis of the smaller villages can do much to show the cumulative effect of the life changes there that are driving more and more people into the larger villages.

We have attempted to show the way in which peoples' perceptions of themselves and their social institutions have been altered by certain kinds of change, and we shall attempt to show the social price that has been paid in Alaska for that kind of change. Change need not have taken so negative a form. As Parker[8] cogently points out, the primary causes of the personal and social pathology which have occurred here resulted from the disjunction between inculcated expectations and the possibility of achievement. This will become clearer in the course of the discussion which follows.

BARTER ISLAND

Kaktovik, the Eskimo name for the village on Barter Island, is situated on the Arctic Coast 360 air miles east of Barrow and 60 miles west of the Canadian border at Latitude 70.1° N and Longitude 143.6° W. The island, about seven miles long and five miles wide, has a population (1967 BIA estimate) of 141 natives. Named Barter Island in 1908 by traders, its people are related to the Barrow Eskimos and are a part of the same Tauremiut (later Nunamiut) cultural tradition.[9]

Prior to 1940 the basic economic organization of the village centered around hunting, fishing, and trapping.[10] These activities were carried out cooperatively, and food and labor sharing were deeply held values. The family,

the basic social unit, was composed of coexisting, bilateral kin groups, which were flexible in composition. Kinship privileges were extended to non-kin by means of formal partnerships, which enabled Eskimos from other communities who were temporarily in the area to be integrated into the existing cooperative system.

This situation began to change in 1953-54 when military construction began on nearby defense installations. The results which followed (i.e., a relatively unstressful acculturation experience) gave Barter Island its claim to social science fame. First, all of the available Eskimo men at Barter Island were given well paid employment opportunities in defense site construction. Indeed, other Eskimos came from communities as far away as Barrow and Aklavik to share in this employment. Unlike other Eskimo communities, however, neither this increased income nor immigration created unusual difficulties for the people. On the simple mechanical level the influx of new residents was not massive enough to disrupt the close kin and friendship ties binding the older community members. Further, income differentials did not arise since all men were employed. Moreover, the problem of overt racial discrimination (often a problem in the Arctic) did not arise since the Eskimos who responded well to the specialized training which they were given were considered an asset by the government employers.

However, problems connected with heavy drinking and untoward and unwanted sexual advances toward native women on the part of white workers occasionally did arise. This was partly countered by a government policy enabling the Eskimos to set up their own restrictions on admittance of whites to the village, thus generally keeping disruptive forces under control. That is, the village welcomed those white men who made friends with Eskimos and participated in their social and recreational life on Eskimo terms. Those who were viewed as potential threats were discouraged. Any man, white or Eskimo, causing "serious trouble" was fired. Though autocratic in the extreme these measures permitted this period to be about the least stressful contact of whites and natives in the history of the area.

But reducing outside impinging social forces through an enlightened government policy was not by itself the primary explanation for this successful acculturative experience. Perhaps even more important in reducing internal village stresses was a close congruence of traditional Eskimo leadership values with those leadership values required for articulation with whites. Eskimos have been characterized in the ethnographic literature by mental alertness and industriousness, generosity, cooperativeness, and ability to learn new technical skills. These traits were highly valued by whites; thus, this Eskimo community could be moved intact into the government construction activity while retaining its traditional social structure and village hierarchy.

By 1957, major military construction in the area was completed, but there was no dramatic reduction in the number of jobs available for the Eskimos since many men were required for maintenance work at the completed military sites. In recent years, approximately 75 per cent of the men in the village have been earning salaries of $600 a month or more, and the large majority of natives over 18 continue wage work in preference to their earlier life of hunting, trapping, and fishing.

This dramatic change has come about through a complex of interdependent and interacting factors. One important factor is that Eskimos were able to integrate aboriginal patterns of behavior into a contemporary context (kinship obligations offered a traditionally-based rationale for the unemployed and unemployable to be supported by the employed). Since the Eskimos made the assumption that such obligations were reciprocal, they were not felt to be onerous. Moreover, traditional Eskimo values stressed that a man can take pride in supporting others and discharging self-imposed obligations.

Chance,[11] in noting this and other aspects of their remarkable adaptation, suggests that a major factor involved was the rapidity with which change was effected. All men, not just a few, could be involved at the same time; therefore, stresses between "haves" and "have nots" did not occur. The speed and completeness with which the village was changed meant that tradi-

tional community leaders, usually the men most skilled in hunting, could transfer that prestige as well as power for maintaining social control into their new occupations. In many other communities in Northwest Alaska, the slower rate of change, accompanied by differential access to formal education between the young and old, has only allowed the young to become competent in the white man's world. These young men then become "leaders" of a sort but are in conflict with the older generation of traditional leaders. It is difficult for these young men to validate their leadership capacity in traditional terms (i.e. as good hunters), and there is no doubt that such traditional validation has a deep emotional meaning. On the other hand, older men, who can validate their leadership traditionally, find increasingly that their lack of skills in the white man's world means their leadership is a dead letter. The net result is confusion over the direction of personal lives.

This confusion is reflected in the organization of social control. Increasingly, the young in many villages are unable or unwilling to accept familial authority based on what appears to them to be irrelevant criteria. Moreover, this occurs in a cultural context where the tendency is for the parent to permit the child freedom of choice. However, this older pattern of familial authority occurred only in a context in which the example of elders, even if never imposed on the young, held great relevance and could be followed rationally by the young and could be invested with great emotional significance for them.

Now, in many villages, parents who are no longer certain what example to set for children let alone what advice to give, and who are inclined by their traditional values to let children go their own way, are hopelessly isolated from the decisions of the young, their life's experiences, and their attitudes. This has not occurred in Barter Island at anywhere near the intensity it has elsewhere. Simply put, it appears that if all a community's members and not just the young, can come into the cash economy at about the same time, the old social order is put under fewer strains and can adjust at its own rate.

Education, of course, introduces new concepts and is critical in developing some aspects of social change. But in Barter Island, the child's education and resulting change in economic potential did not change the structure of the family; therefore, familial influence on the individual as well as the influence of traditional religion and social order remained more stable, leaving the villagers to feel more in control of their own destiny.

But not all areas of life remained unstressful. While men were able to continue to appreciate their own personal value by working in a white society that held them in respect, women had and have no role in Barter Island as it moves toward "white culture" that is nearly as important economically as their traditional Eskimo wife roles. There is, then, some stress on female identity here, as Chance notes. The results of such a situation can be seen more clearly at a place like Barrow.[12]

If the interplay of social forces has been moderated, the community itself has undergone dramatic physical changes. There is a Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) school as well as two stores, two church groups, and a National Guard armory. Mail and supplies are brought in by scheduled plane flight from Fairbanks at least three times a week all year long. Additionally, there is direct telephone communication from the school to the Distant Early Warning (DEW Line) site. Medical care is available at the Barrow hospital, and DEW Line charter service is available to transport Eskimos there. Moreover, the villages may utilize the medical facilities of the DEW Line station for emergency care.

Since the population is in transition from almost total dependence upon sea and land mammal hunting to a cash economy, living standards reflect a combination of Eskimo and white aspects. Here, as in other North Coast villages, food obtained through hunting, etc., is supplemented in the diet by sugar, flour, coffee, cereals, and pastries.

The school, completed in 1964, has two classrooms, a kitchen, and a latrine. Located in a separate building are two sewing machines, a transistor

radio with both short wave and standard bands, and a water pressure system and storage tank for both school and quarters. At the present time (1967), there are about 30 children attending the BIA school and 11 high school students attending schools outside the village. Adult employment includes 11 men working for Federal Electric and there are about nine men who are unemployed. (Obviously, the exact figures shift from time to time.) Some of the unemployed actually get wage employment elsewhere during the three to four months of the construction season in the summer.

Since the physical inventory of the village differs in no significant way from hundreds of others, it is relevant to recapitulate once more how this dramatic physical change has come about with limited social stress.

Following Chance we suggest that the reasons for successful change of this nature may be generalized as follows: (1) a small community such as this permits exchange of ideas in a rapid manner; (2) the traditional kinship system has remained stable, preventing community disorganization; (3) most of the newly defined goals have been successfully realized; (4) the rapid changes which have occurred have not negatively affected the native leadership; and (5) the Eskimos have been able to retain autonomy within the framework of economic independence.

Having worked on the DEW Line and having been given freedom of career choice in the context of the entire village changing at once, the Eskimos have been able to maintain their emotional stability and their ability to operate independently. Culturally, there was already a predisposition to change because there is more emphasis placed on adaptability than conformity in Eskimo culture; thus, the villagers voluntarily chose to change large segments of their culture. Since the changes came about through group participation, and since some balance between the old (hunting) and the new (cash work) was maintained, the people of Kaktovik were able to feel they had some real control over their own destinies to a greater extent than many other Alaskan natives.

The Kaktovik case raises interesting theoretical questions concerning

the problem of whether government agencies should follow their usual policy of a little change slowly or should attempt a more complete and rapid break with the past. Probably more important than the speed of change, if the Kaktovik example is relevant, is the content of change. In Kaktovik, the material culture was changed, but in such a fashion that the old values could remain.

Kaktovik appears to offer relatively few major overt problems in its transition. As long as fully adequate subsistence hunting can be combined with available wage labor in the area, acculturation can proceed pretty much at whatever pace the inhabitants desire. Yet, some structural problems are hidden beneath this pleasant surface. If women are unable to maintain status in the integrated economy, the young ones will be increasingly attracted to Barrow or Fairbanks, as is happening now in many villages. As young men are educated to expectations that cannot be easily fulfilled in the village, but cannot really be fulfilled anywhere else either, their return to the village will exacerbate the age/sex ratio disproportion which can be predicted from female out-migration. Still, village integration is strong in Kaktovik and these problems are not immediate. Not all villages have been so fortunate.

POINT HOPE

Point Hope is a maritime, seal mammal hunting (Tauremiut) village on the West Coast of Alaska facing the Bering Sea. It is 175 miles northwest of Kotzebue at approximately 68.3° Latitude North and 166.9° Longitude West. It has a population of 314 (1967 BIA figures) and is probably one of the oldest continually occupied village sites in the Western Hemisphere. To the north is Tigara, site of one of the oldest settlements in the Arctic, which shows evidence of sod igloos and artifactual remains of precontact, indicating intermittant settlement for several thousand years.

Rainey[13] traces the relationships between the Tikaramiut (the people of Point Hope) with the people of Wainwright, Kivalina, and Barrow, and even the people as far south as Kotzebue. The Eskimos here (much like those at

Barrow) apparently always have been dependent upon sea hunting, though some inland hunting, trapping, and reindeer herding have had varying degrees of supplemental importance.

The yearly subsistence hunting cycle is pretty much the same today as it has been for several thousand years, with the exception of the introduction of modern technology (rifles and snowmachines) in the taking of game. Presently in Point Hope, as Foote and Williamson[14] note, about 80 per cent of the village food demand (measured by caloric intake) is met by hunting and only 20 per cent by importing food.

The values, social and cultural patterns, and overall way of life also show a strong continuity with the past. Insofar as certain basic human attitudes and behavior are concerned (child rearing, attitudes toward family, and sex role and behavior), changes have occurred much more slowly and are less pervasive than changes in the manner of dealing with the physical environment. This is true to a greater or lesser degree for most small villages in the Northwest, which is an area with substantial cultural unity.

Eskimo child rearing is essentially permissive and it tends to produce an adult individual well integrated into the group with control over his own aggressive feelings, who is extremely optimistic, tremendously capable of work, and confident in his abilities. Eskimos, however, tend to respond negatively to frustration and to avoid activities which have no easily perceived short term goal (except, of course, for subsistence hunting and food storage).

At least in part, this attitude probably is a response to the environment which, as Rainey notes, has the same physical parameters now as in the distant past. The climate is much more severe here (though temperatures may be higher) than it is inland because of the extreme wind and wetness of weather, and this has some effect on subsistence activities. Even though the subsistence activity in response to this environment has changed somewhat, attitudes and beliefs still show strong ties with the past. For example, though the young Point Hopers understand radios and the mechanical principles of the

airplane and the repeating rifle, some do not doubt that their great grandfather, an Angakok (shaman), flew hundreds of miles into Siberia to meet a rival during a few minutes while a lamp was dim in the dance house. While relying on a bomb firing harpoon gun to capture bowhead whales, some people still believe that an old man or woman in the village may make this bomb ineffectual by wishing the hunters ill.

This is not to say that there have been no significant changes in many areas of behavior. Some of the changes, in fact, have been very dramatic.

The introduction of the rifle was one of these changes. Foote and Williamson note that the rifle was significant, not simply in terms of the animals that it has decimated (there is some doubt as to whether it actually did that), but because it changed the patterns of hunting. Eskimos with rifles were able to hunt with confidence as lone individuals, thus reducing their dependence on extended kin groups, and they could hunt any time and anywhere the animals were available, thereby increasing the flexibility of their subsistence search.

Even more significant was the contact with white whalers and Western cultural institutions, such as Western religious and governmental organizations. Eskimos have had to learn to adapt to these new, somewhat puzzling social forms. However, the impact of the Eskimos on Americans who settled the land also was significant. Interdependence sprung up between the two groups, and it is doubtful whether any Americans (outside of DEW Line operators) would be permanent residents presently in the Arctic had the Eskimo population failed to survive. However, these contacts with whites were not always beneficial. A whole series of articles by Van Stone[15] suggests in detail the basic theme of Eskimo competence at making a living but indicates some of the difficulties in cultural contact with whites.

For example, Van Stone[16] suggests that the negative impact of contact started with the first whaling ship which reached the area in 1848. In the very next year, 154 ships hunting whales sailed to this area. The whaling,

while it lasted, created extended contact of whites with the Eskimos, and the Eskimos were quick to see the advantage of the white man's whaling equipment over their own. By the acquisition of material goods from ships abandoned in ice jams and through trading, the Eskimo gained many items of Western material culture. Moreover, Eskimos worked on the ships, and the whalers often spent a great deal of time in the village in the winter. Thus, both acquired many new ideas about dealing with the Arctic environment. Many Eskimos saw themselves as somewhat inadequate in the face of the new technology and its values, just as many whites saw Eskimo Arctic adaptation as superior to their own.

In time, the price of oil decreased, and the main interest of all the whalers was baleen (used as stays in dresses and corsets, etc.). After 1880, however, the price of baleen began to fall, and by 1908 the whaling fleet had declined to eight ships. By 1916 even the shore based whalers could not make any money, and only two ships went north, only one to hunt whales. This was the beginning of the boom/bust economic cycles that have characterized the area. In a sense, this unpredictable white/native contact set the tone for future contacts.

Nelson[17] and Foote and Williamson,[18] in discussing the aboriginal life of the Tikaramiut, also note this impact of change through time. From 1850 to 1885 the whalers caused an important change in Eskimo life, first by disrupting the basic ecological system of the region, and second by introducing diseases that drastically reduced the native population to approximately 50 per cent of its prior level. Van Stone[19] notes that Point Hope lost 12 per cent of its population in 1902 alone in a measles epidemic, probably brought by whalers. Such diseases periodically decimated the population of the Northwest region.

After 1885, a new pattern of Eskimo life began when Americans settled on the land as whalers, traders, missionaries, and government officials. The native economy became increasingly tied to the continental American market and to the Federal Government, which tended to bind Eskimos to a given spot for

administrative reasons. Eventually, the three aboriginal Eskimo groups in this area centered their activity in the villages of Point Hope and Noatak.

Thus, as opposed to Barter Island, there has been a long term, intensive contact with uneven rates of change in Point Hope. First contacts were with the teachers and the missionaries. As elsewhere, their influence was pervasive and resulted in a complex mixture of overt and covert behaviors. The overt behavior is made up of both "Western" and "Eskimo" elements, with the Western elements dominant. The covert behavior is also made up of both "Western" and "Eskimo" elements, with the emphasis on the Eskimo. This mix created problems for both Eskimos and whites.

For example, Van Stone notes there are great problems in teaching a code of morals that is irrelevant to the cultural tradition of the people who are being taught, which is precisely what happened here. Eskimos were encouraged to internalize a belief that what they conceive of as neutral or good acts were evil in white eyes (e.g., attitudes toward sex and lenient child rearing), and in embarrassment and confusion they tended to hide their own beliefs or denigrate them. This attitude was reinforced since Eskimos felt that the "white" culture was technologically superior to their own. Thus, their response to these new cultural elements was mixed and complex.

One aspect of this, as Van Stone notes,[20] was a selective response. That is, Point Hopers responded at many different levels in their interrelationship with the world outside. For example, certain things have vanished from Point Hope, such as a large extended family, the yearly cycle of ceremonies held in the men's house, and aboriginal warfare. All of these are intricately intertwined. The vanishing of the large families reduced the incidence of bitter inter-family feuds. Increased communication reduced the incidence of village endogamy. These changes were primarily changes within the confines of the village.

The relationship of the village as a unit to other units has also changed; reindeer herding, itself a response to acculturation, has vanished,

and new institutions have appeared, such as the store, the post office, the school, the National Guard, formal community organization, and the like. There are no more trading expeditions, trading partners, and there is no more commercial whaling. Trapping has declined, as has the practice of wholesale visiting during the whaling season. On the other hand, summer employment outside the village is increasing, and so are extra-village contacts due to exogamy, contact with the American legal system, and the impact of newspapers, magazines, American holidays, games and entertainment, unemployment compensation, technological devises, local crafts, and modern transportation and communication.

With all these changes, subsistence sea hunting is still important. In fact, Point Hope has been described as a successful combination of subsistence and wage economies.[21] Hunting there is still essentially an extended family activity. The extended family group, though rapidly being replaced by small, nuclear family units, still has a general importance in Point Hope. Support by the more competent of the less competent tends to follow extended family lines (much as in Barter Island). Most people are still able to get enough food for the winter by hunting, but cash is needed in the village and not much of it comes from welfare. What cash exists here is brought back by men who leave the village for Kotzebue or Fairbanks construction work for the summer and from the small amount of tourist activity. Little opportunity for employment exists in the village itself, though there is a native store, a privately owned store, hotel, pool hall, and coffee shop. There is also a community movie run by the health council and there are several home bakeries and a number of private skin sewers.

Most observers have reported that the people of Point Hope seem to have a commitment to the community and are active in their support of the village council. The high level of participation has simplified social control, which is essentially carried out through informal rather than formal decrees and which suggests a high level of social integration. It also indicates that to some degree the old social system and the new have blended more than they have clashed.

One factor in the blending of old and modern ways is that the village is not nearly so isolated as its geographical position might lead one to suspect. A commercial airline services the town three times a week from Kotzebue. Transportation to the surrounding area is by boat, dog team, and snowmachine. There is a power plant in the village, and fuel is supplied by the native store. Yet, below the surface, integration, here as elsewhere, seems to be less adequate than it appears at first glance.

For example, the population of Point Hope has been growing very slowly. Perhaps this is one of the best indications of the incipient problems in the community. Though the population has increased since 1933, the increase is of a very low order, only slightly over one per cent per year during the most expansive periods. The total increase in population from 1933 to 1966 has been more on the order of one-half per cent per year.

What appears to have happened is that the village is slowly losing most of its natural increase in population centers such as Barrow and Kotzebue. On the other hand, the village is still viable, has a large number of children, and apparently has not yet been strongly affected by the changes in birth control practices that have begun to alter the population structure of other Eskimo villages in the Northwest region.

This suggests that there are strong reasons for out-migration in Point Hope that are slowly overcoming the Point Hoper's natural pride in his village. It also suggests that the effects of change have been rather pervasive, though some observers believe that they do not run very deep.

Van Stone[22] notes that much of the transition which has occurred has been obvious and overt in that there have been changes in technology and in relationships to the outside world. On the other hand, he suggests there has been almost no change in techniques of child rearing. Adoptions are still as common as they used to be, children are allowed a great freedom in play, aggression training is extremely important as there are no considered suitable outlets for it, and sexuality, birth, and death are so much a part of the

everyday life of a child that he is completely familiar with them at an early age. Such training, however, tends to put the child in conflict with teachers and missionaries and may well create confusion and shame in the child's mind about just what proper behavior is.

One aspect of traditionally Eskimo behavior that still creates tensions with whites, such as missionaries and school teachers who tend to have different values about such matters, is the sexual freedom available to the young in this community.

Sexually, Point Hopers (and most Eskimos for that matter) appear to become active around 15 or 16, and the males are expected to have many affairs. The women are sexually acquiescent, but not aggressive. Since there are few places to go for sexual enjoyment, some boys bring girls to their parents' homes without much objection. Others visit young married couples, whose homes become places of assignation. There is some disapproval of this, but little adherence to the religious importunings of missionaries that sexual behavior outside of marriage is wrong. Marriage itself appears to follow the monogamous, "white" pattern, with no admitted wife exchange.

This set of attitudes would be interesting but rather irrelevant if it were not for the fact that these very Eskimo attitudes of openness about sex, which caused very little difficulty in the aboriginal village setting, create many problems in urban Alaskan communities which the villagers visit with increasing frequency. Such behavior also invites the disapproval of local whites and of those natives who have internalized the more puritan strictures of Western civilization. Thus, a clash between what is commonly accepted as reasonable by all age levels of Point Hopers and what is now seen by some people, at least overtly, as evil is beginning to create real tensions. Moreover, we feel subtle and quite possible significant changes in attitudes (apart from overt behavior) seem to be occurring from generation to generation.

The younger men (17-25) generally do not know how to hunt very well and are less interested in it. Hunting, especially on the sea ice, is a dif-

ficult thing and demands intensive training. If their elders are not overly interested in training them, and the young men do not choose to learn to hunt well, the entire meaning in their lives must change. These young men often join the National Guard, which gives them some money and permits them to travel to Anchorage for the summer camp. On the other hand, attitude changes are less of a problem for the girls, who marry at a younger age than men. However, a substantial number of young girls have never come back from the high schools outside the community.

Van Stone also notes that the older social structure in Point Hope is rapidly weakening, regardless of the many cultural patterns from the past that remain. None of the old family leadership patterns exist, nor do any of the old kinds of village council patterns. However, to what extent these rapidly accelerating culture changes will be very disruptive is not clear.

Additional problems exist in that everyone in the village has been influenced by contemporary American culture, and desires have been created that can be satisfied only by the possession of a cash income. There are employment opportunities in military and other construction, and Point Hope men can find employment outside of their village. Thus, individuals can adapt to a money economy and combine it with aboriginal subsistence activity. However, as more and more young people leave the village to complete their education and thus are oriented toward a money economy, they become increasingly disoriented from village subsistence activities. Van Stone notes that many individuals feel inadequate and backward, identifying their Eskimo ways as uninventive and stupid in comparison with white ways. They are unable to integrate fully into the white community, yet feel very little like Eskimos.

The complex theme of persistence and change characterizes Point Hope, as it does many Alaska communities. Dramatic changes in hunting techniques combine with persistence in what is hunted; dramatic changes in administrative and outside relations combine with persistence of village social patterns. At the same time, overlaying everything else and deeply intertwined with it, there

are overt changes in values on the part of the young, and increasing interest in cash, village out-migration, and the question of identity.

The people of Point Hope are making a serious effort to integrate a subsistence and cash economy and an Eskimo and Western cultural tradition. On the surface, they are succeeding, but there are internal strains that are very great that have not yet been dealt with. As Murphy and Steward[23] note, there is an almost inevitable progression in societies having the kind of subsistence base that has characterized Point Hope in the direction of more individualistic orientations and toward a breakdown of extended family and traditional authority forms.

It seems safe to suggest that the village of Point Hope will not disappear rapidly. However, the increasing disorientation of the young--and the flight of young women to larger communities--suggests that expectations that Point Hope will continue to adequately integrate subsistence hunting and cash work may well be more sanguine than realistic.

KIVALINA

Kivalina is a highly unacculturated village located on a sand bar facing the Arctic Ocean at the mouth of the Wulik River channel. About twenty feet above sea level and separated from the mainland by a very small lagoon, it is 112 miles northeast of Kotzebue at Latitude 67° N and Longitude 164°E. The present population is 193 including three whites (1967 BIA estimate).

Transportation in the area is better than in some other isolated villages. Regularly scheduled mail flights three times a week are almost never cancelled since the runway is excellent. The Kivalinamiut travel in winter by snow machine and dog team to Noatak, Point Hope, and Kotzebue.

The presence of the Kivalinamiut[24] in this area probably antedated

contact with whites, and there are definite cultural relations now and in the past with their former enemies, the Point Hope and Noatak people.

Historically, permanent settlement began at Kivalina with the founding of a village school in 1905. Prior to this time, the Kivalinamiut had lived inland along the Wobiick and Koblina Rivers. The disappearance of the caribou for a period of time at the beginning of the century probably was an additional factor leading people to move to the coast. Reindeer were introduced into the Seward Peninsula at this time by the BIA, and Eskimos were trained to care for them. A herd owned by two Eskimos was brought to the Kivalina area in 1903, but it was unsuccessful for many reasons. Reindeer herding finally disappeared by 1956.

At present, the village is almost totally dependent upon subsistence hunting and fishing. Income through trapping is an important, though small, supplement, and some arts and crafts work is produced with minimal economic benefit. Although subsistence methods are quite similar for most families, some broad differences do exist.

There are at least two different groups that earn and handle large cash incomes. Some are good hunters; some do not hunt at all. The members of the group that do little hunting obtain their money by working in a skilled trade. The other group obtains money from a variety of sources, but its members usually do not possess a skilled trade. The groups also differ in the manner of spending the money they earn. Money earned by skilled labor usually is spent on building frame houses, equipping these with oil stoves, and buying fuel oil. This presupposes that the builder will continue the attempt to be employed and earn enough money to maintain this way of living. Such individuals are committed to the work world of the white culture. Others have spent their money for major convenience items, like outboard motors and washing machines, and are reluctant to become dependent upon the money economy. Saario and Kessel strongly suggest that the degree of acculturation cannot be judged so easily by how much money is made or by how many modern conveniences are used by an individual or group, but by the degree of commitment to depend on cash for

food and fuel in the future.

The impact of white culture in Kivalina has been continuous, though slow, and its results have been typical of those in many small communities. High school education is probably the most important factor in the acculturation of Kivalinamiut and it involves some stresses. There is a basic conservatism in Kivalina culture that seems contradicted by the fact that parents in Kivalina want their children to get an education. The separation of family which occurs because of the need to send children outside the community for high school causes some disruption in normal developmental processes. Children cannot grow up with their parents, and thus lack guidance when faced with new challenges, new expectations, and new experiences. Most high school students in the past were educated at Mt. Edgecumbe (or outside of the state), but since the Kotzebue High School has been built, some of the problems connected with family separation have been alleviated. When children do return, as most of them do, they state that they feel as though they are split into two different people. Some children find there is very little real opportunity in the village to utilize the knowledge they have gained in high school, even though they would like to stay. Others would like to move to large cities and different surroundings, but family responsibilities prevent this.

The local grade school teacher exerts a strong acculturative force. He serves in an advisory capacity to village and council meetings and checks the reports of the local store. Since the teacher is the only significant white contact for most of the year (here as in many villages), impressions about whites often are gained by observing him.

Another important influence on acculturation in Kivalina is the existence of two churches--the Friends and the Episcopal Mission. The existence of an institutionalized difference in religion permits some village diversity to become polarized around these particular institutions. The congregations of the two churches find themselves on opposite sides of issues that are essentially foreign to basic Eskimo philosophies, such as questions of dancing,

drinking, or card playing. These frictions have existed for some time, but the need for cooperation has brought a measure of self-discipline to the community which transcends these differences.

Still, one should not overestimate the degree to which Christianity has been internalized. A large gap exists between the formal meaning of Christianity and the doctrine and philosophy of the churches so far as the Eskimos are concerned. The assurance of salvation which Christianity gives has made it very attractive, but, for many Eskimos, their problems and fears, such as the old belief that to disturb a dead man's bones in his grave causes bad weather, are not alleviated by Christianity.

It also might be remembered that one of the strongest and most important aspects of the aboriginal beliefs centered around concern over taboos. The introduction of puritanical taboos against sexuality, drinking, dancing, and the like by white fundamentalist missionaries actually fit to some degree the already extant supernatural beliefs. If some "new taboos" did not fit the old structure, they simply were ignored, as in Point Hope.

The third major factor in acculturation at Kivalina is the role of the government agencies. These agencies provide medical care, welfare and unemployment insurance compensation, and thereby cushion the rigors of survival. There is no longer any need to worry about death from starvation in Kivalina. The deadly impact of the environment has been reduced, and so has the necessity to prepare to deal with it.

The aboriginal culture of the Kivalinamiut, similar in many respects to Eskimo culture throughout the Northwest region of Alaska, is based on values and attitudes developed through the socialization process. Although socialization practices are still fairly homogeneous, there is a gradient of training at the present time ranging from instilling most of the old Eskimo teaching and expectations to training children in typical white middle class standards. However, permissiveness with children is still the rule, and the basic expecta-

tion of cooperation and family responsibility prevail here as elsewhere in Northwest Alaska. Some aspects of traditional training, such as training for hunting, have for the most part been seriously neglected. There are boys in their early 20's who have never hunted on the ice or trapped, similar to Point Hope. In some instances, this is because their fathers view themselves as inadequate teachers. But it is mostly the result of the lack of present necessity, and it is a reflection of changes in parental desires for their children.

Some of the young unmarried people in the village, particularly young men, are strongly oriented toward an Eskimo way of life and have a great interest in hunting in spite of their lack of adequate training. Some are oriented entirely away from the village. The majority seem to have no definite idea of what they want. This majority is not particularly interested in hunting, and what its future will be is not clear either to the individuals concerned or to others, since they do not appear to be interested in learning a skilled white man's trade either. Most of the young girls have become proficient in the arts of homemaking, though almost none of them are trying to learn the specialized skills of the Eskimo wife, such as making parkas and mukluks.

In discussing acculturation, Sarrio and Kessel point out that the values of cooperation, self-sufficiency, independence, and the control of aggression were in the past essential to the people in this particular environment. Now, however, the changes which are occurring have brought about some confusion and disruption of the old values.

One of the great contrasts of the value system is in regard to the possession of goods. If an Eskimo in Kivalina, through diligence and foresight, ends up having a barrel of gasoline on hand in the spring when there is often a shortage, he is in a difficult position. Everyone who has not had this foresight will want to buy his gasoline, and he is placed under considerable community pressure to share this commodity. The Eskimo value of sharing is still very strong and quite different, of course, from white values.

Because this is a question of social morality, and there is really no longer a question in Kivalina of survival, the fact that the welfare of the community takes precedence over that of the individual irritates many younger men.

Saario and Kessel note that generational conflict shows evidences of becoming more serious in other areas as well. For example, primary leadership and prestige in Kivalina rest with the individual who exhibited the greatest proficiency in maintaining an Eskimo way of life. If this ability is combined with the ability to deal with the white world, prestige and leadership are enhanced. There is a second type of leadership evolving around the ability to conduct dealings with the outside world. The more the community becomes geared to white ways, the greater the secondary type of leadership is likely to become. This secondary leadership, as one might expect, is young, has had more years of schooling, and is more acculturated than the former. At Kivalina, unlike Barter Island, there has begun to be a breakdown between traditional and modern leadership.

Even in the area of social control, however, the older patterns can still be found. Control over deviance tends to be informally invested in the council, but if a family is a powerful family, it is permitted to discipline its own members in its own way. If it is a weak family, or the individual involved is without important ties, deviant behavior is handled by the council.

The major problems that Saario and Kessel[25] project for the future in Kivalina result from education. There will probably be no drastic change in attitudes as long as the present middle-aged generation dominates. Some of today's children will continue to feel close ties to their village; others will not. The major difficulty will arise for groups of young people who are particularly acculturated, but cannot fit easily into the white man's world, and those who resent the continued impingement of the white man's world. Still less fortunate are the young people whose parents do not know which world they really want to belong to and are therefore in turmoil about how to train their children.

In the past, a boy who learned his role as a man was clearly linked to the very survival of his family. At present, even if he is not very self-reliant or as cooperative as he thinks he should be, a man passes these traditional values on to his children, or tries to do so. However, in attempting to adjust to the white man's world, he may find he has difficulties in reconciling what he ought to be with what he must be. The values that the Eskimos have learned (self-reliance, independence, cooperation,aand control of aggression) are valuable. Independence and self-reliance, however, require different modes of self-expression in different cultures. The Eskimo's unaggressive qualities may well be misunderstood or exploited by whites. This famous "lack of aggressiveness" of Eskimos is perhaps one of the more poorly understood facets of Eskimo "character." Eskimos were, and we assume are, capable of great physical violence and direct aggression against other human beings. However, as a pattern of life, it was not permissable for an Eskimo constantly to push someone or bully someone into what he did not wish to do. In fact, Eskimos deferred to each other's wishes as a matter of course. If someone felt strongly enough about something to want to impose his will in a given matter, no one would think of opposing him. When one adds to this an admiration for rich men and good hunters, it becomes clear how occasionally (as did happen) a man who combined good skills in hunting, wealth, and a tendency to be a bully could literally terrorize an entire community.

Because they frown on bullying, social control often was achieved by very gentle hints about how people felt. There informal controls were so effective, and Eskimo aversion to bullying so thorough, that these were probably the most important cultural reasons for the lack of Eskimo "government" at contact.

What Saario and Kessel suggest is that it is possible to manipulate Eskimos under certain conditions because of their lack of the Western sort of aggressiveness. It is this manipulation of themselves and some insecurity about their ability to deal with "white" culture that often create a "retreatist" attitude in young Eskimos.

Kivalina is an example of an essentially inland group that settled on the coast and has been trying to adapt both to a maritime Eskimo culture and to the new Euro-American patterns. This has been difficult for the Kivalinamiut and the strains in their village are very severe. Loss of young men is high and the out-migration of young women is extremely high. It is quite difficult to say whether Kivalina will be able to maintain itself against the pressures it faces.

NOATAK

Noatak, which is located about 25 miles inland on the Noatak River at Latitude 67°N and Longitude 163°E and is some 20 air miles from Kotzebue, was founded in 1908 when the Alaska School Service representatives helped gather the scattered local population at this point. The village has a present population of 192 and has been experiencing a decline in population during the last 20 years as individuals and families have moved to Kotzebue, according to a 1967 BIA estimate.

Noatak is an "artificial" village, as are many of the native villages in Alaska.[26] Its formation was the result of a compilation of pressures from interested parties--such as the church, manufacturing and trading groups, and the school administrators--to concentrate the Eskimos together in one spot where they were more easily available for contact. Noatak people, however, are made up of groups that have been in the general Kobuk area for a long period of time. They have close ties with Point Hope,[27] with the Kobuk people, and they have cultural ties with the Nunamiut in the Brooks Range, as well as with Kivalina.

Dominating here, as in other Northern villages, are the theme of persistence and change, the slowly growing impact of the cash economy, strains in relations between Western institutions and primary village institutions, out-migration of the young, and concern over identity.

These people in the past were primarily caribou hunters and fishermen, though their annual subsistence cycle also included some sea mammal hunting at fish camps such as Sheshalik, south of Kivalina.

After settlement, they herded reindeer and trapped fur bearing animals. Following the 1929 collapse of the world-wide fur market and the abandonment of reindeer, they turned to caribou, which by the 1950's were once again plentiful in this area after an absence of more than a generation. Traditional spring moves to the sea coast have been discontinued, and since 1953, no Noatak family has spent the spring on the coast.[28] At present, short trips are taken only by men between February and April. The seal hunts last no more than two weeks and the kill is brought back to Noatak. All this is because the caribou have become the primary food of the Noatakers.[29] The new dependence on caribou, fish and an occasional moose, combined with an involvement in the cash economy has begun to isolate the Noatakers. Presently, the village still lives mainly on subsistence foods, which most of the villagers procure through hunting and fishing. Some craft work and trapping are done, but they have little economic meaning. At present, work outside the village brings in most of the cash income.

Foote and Williamson[30] describe six major developments during the period 1940-1950 that altered the then traditional living pattern of Noatak Eskimos. They are of interest because many of these changes had a similar impact on the entire Northwest Alaska area (as they did in Noatak). They are:

1. the deterioration of the fur market;
2. the collapse of the reindeer industry;
3. the return of the caribou to the Noatak region;
4. the introduction of modern communication;
5. the increased activity of state and federal agencies in the area; and
6. the increase in summer wage employment.

Modern means of transportation and communication started in the 1940's

with scheduled runs by commercial airlines, and by 1940, a U.S. Post Office had been established. The mail order business, with its lower prices and wider variety of merchandise, made available entirely new things to the Noatakers and increased their need for cash. Intervillage radio and telephone service was established by the Alaska Territorial Guard in World War II, and many families acquired radios. State agencies, especially those involved in providing welfare assistance, became more important after World War II, when the elderly, blind, and disabled Eskimos and dependent children became eligible for welfare support. The Public Health Service intensified service to eliminate Tuberculosis and venereal disease, and the BIA stepped up its education program, sending promising Eskimo students to high school. All of these occurrences created a situation of continued and significant change in Noatak. The Noatakers even introduced their own village store.

The Noatak village store, however, became economically sound only in 1947 when the council made the store an Alaska Native Industrial Cooperative Association (ANICA) store. Under this new organization, the store did not extend credit. It has been so successful in the past few years that the annual profit from the store has been many thousands of dollars. Still, it does not generate employment and income-producing opportunities are scarce in Noatak itself. Steady wages are paid for a full-time school cook, the store manager, a postmaster, and the minister. Work outside the village, with few exceptions, is spotty and unreliable. There is some commercial fishing in Bristol Bay and Noatakers work in canneries there, but little money comes from this source.

Almost no opportunities for outside employment during the summer were open until the 1950's, when Noatak men began to work in the fish canneries in Southern Alaska, for mining companies in the Interior, and on construction jobs all over the (then) territory. There were some desirable results of summer employment, increased purchasing power, more outboard motors, radios, and snow machines. There were some undesirable results as well, including separation of family members and social disorganization.

The large scale, reasonably reliable employment outside the village that now exists is primarily longshore and construction work in Kotzebue,[31] and construction work in Fairbanks. Perhaps as many as 90 per cent of the adult males in the village absent themselves for part of the summer looking for such employment. The income derived from this source is vital to the community for those needs that cannot be met in the subsistence economy.

Very few people in the village receive government payments and welfare checks, but they appear to know quite well how to compute the unemployment and welfare checks due them. At least one woman has refused to get married because it would mean giving up her AFDC check. (Alaska still has the onerous "man in the house" rule governing Aid to Families with Dependent Children support.) Still, most of the money from these checks is spent on luxury items or material items that people could get along without, and it does not really seem to affect the subsistence level.

Though there is a strong shift to a cash economy, the people in Noatak could not live without their subsistence activities and, in fact, they appear not to want to do so. They seem to like the "native food" so much more than they like "white man's food" that they cannot conceive of changing.[32] The larger cities (Fairbanks and Anchorage) appear to have only limited attraction to the Noatak people. Sometimes the men look forward to spring National Guard training because they can visit Anchorage. The postmaster gets a free flight each year from the airline that services the town, and he spent a recent trip with relatives in Fairbanks. Nonetheless, the people say that cities are too expensive, have too many people, offer too many opportunities to get drunk, and have no places that sell seal oil. They believe that Noatak is better and more pleasant. However, some Noatak people have gone outside permanently, and a number of women now live in the states because they married whites. Some Noatak men have returned to the village after relocation training extolling the riches of "outside," but saying that they like Noatak better. This is an expectable response since men, incapable of getting jobs in the white man's world and facing more discrimination than women, find themselves less able to

live outside the village. Women, through marriage to whites, have a route into wider society that is not available to men.

In trying to effectively evaluate urban/village (white/native) contact in a place like Noatak, it must be remembered that the most significant contact, here as elsewhere, is the BIA school teacher. But the school teachers (they tend to be married couples) are rotated every two years, and vary greatly in attitudes and behavior. One set of BIA teachers seemed to live just like villagers. Another absolutely refused to have anything to do with villagers, and there are varieties in between. Thus, Hall[33] suggests the contact that the Noatakers have with the white world through teachers is unpredictable. Also, white attitudes appear to them to be arbitrary.

Another important area of contact between white and native is the PHS hospital in Kotzebue. Visits from PHS personnel are few and native attitudes toward this contact appear to be ambiguous, except among children who are definitely not in favor of the arrival of nurses with needles. Most serious illnesses are handled at the Kotzebue hospital, and attitudes toward the hospital seem to parallel those of lower middle class whites (general fear and distrust mixed with an awed appreciation of medical power to cure), except that the Noatakers need not be concerned over expense. Homesickness seems to be the most serious psychological symptom among Eskimo patients from Noatak in the Kotzebue hospital, though the younger women now prefer to have their babies in the hospital rather than at home.

There is in Noatak another perception of white power which is revealed by the oftspoken fear that the Fish and Wildlife Game Warden is flying around somewhere looking for violators. No arrests have been made recently but the Noatakers are very concerned about the game wardens, and feel that they are underhanded and would like to harm the Noatak villagers. They intensely distrust this branch of the Federal Government.

Thus, though many Noatakers may act as they think whites expect them

to act in face-to-face contacts, this often tends to be a surface acculturation at best. For instance, sexual attitudes and child rearing, here as elsewhere, have changed very little, regardless of the efforts of the Friends Church (which is the community church) to reduce what is seen as promiscuity and "backward" Eskimo behavior. Another example is behavior at festivals. The people go to Point Hope for the Whale Feast, and though they cannot dance in their own village because they are Friends[34] they ignore these religious restrictions when they are in Point Hope. This chance to dance is probably one of the major reasons why the Noatakers visit Point Hope.

Basic perceptions about the world, values, and core attitudes, as we have seen for all the previous groups, continue to underlie Eskimo thinking. However, some behavioral changes have occurred that may eventually lead to major value changes. It appears that men are slightly younger at marriage than in the past in this village, and it also appears that women are a little older.[35] This may be because men do not have to work for the prospective wife's family any more and need not be accomplished hunters. Women, on the other hand, often continue schooling beyond the age at which they would have married in the old days. Also, since unmarried mothers receive state support for children, there is reduced pressure for a woman to get married. This change in marriage age is just one facet of Eskimo life directly attributable to government intervention.

In a non-governmental area the introduction of the snow machine[36] has paradoxically not increased the mobility of the individual or extended the actual area utilized in hunting and fishing. The long trips that are now made are not directly involved with subsistence activities, but are visits for trading purposes. Caribou hunting trips generally stay within the traditional hunting area. Thus, this very modern invention has helped restore ancient Eskimo visiting and trading patterns at Noatak and probably will do so elsewhere.

There are even differences now in duration of different kinds of trips. Hunting trips are shorter than in the past and more frequent, while visiting

trips are longer. With the snow traveling machine, men can get to the caribou in less than a day and do not have to lay over to feed the dogs after a kill. Many two or three day trips now can be made.

One of the possible consequences of the use of snow machines in hunting is that hunters now can run the animals, shooting them from the moving machine. While access to caribou is enhanced, this practice tends to split the herds and makes the animals harder to hunt. Such hunting may, in fact, be less efficient than the previous use of dogs. Paradoxically a modern invention has actually decreased hunting efficiency. This is balanced, however, by the fact that fewer caribou may be needed now because dogteam requirements are reduced.

Snow travelers may even affect the fall fishery as well. If a family has a snow traveler, it does not need to have as many dogs, and in the past fish were caught mainly for winter dog food. But since snow machines make fishing more convenient and because of cultural lag, people are still catching dog food for the winter whether or not they have dogs.

Noatak, then, represents a lower level of integration of cash and subsistence economies than Point Hope, but it is apparently somewhat more acculturated than Kivalina. It lacks the stresses and strains attendent upon the major changes that have occurred in Point Hope. Noatak appears to be slowly dying, though the expressed intense love of their community by the Noatakers suggests that it has a reasonably long future even in a period of increasing intensity of change.

What is most interesting here, as elsewhere in Eskimo Alaska, is the balancing of old and new, and the often unanticipated consequences of changes in cultural patterns. The relative isolation of Noatak from the economic mainstream of America has reduced some of the more dramatic aspects of change. This has not been so for the Kobuk villages.

THE KOBUK RIVER VILLAGES

Historically, as Stoney[37] and others have noted, the population in the Kobuk River area was divided into two groups. An Athabascan speaking group lived near the headwaters, and the Kobukmiut Eskimos lived farther downriver below the Pah River. Both groups, however, were culturally, if not linguistically similar.

The annual cycle of the Kobukmiut saw summer fishing parties go downstream as far as Sheshalik (the Noataker's fishing camp) on Kotzebue Sound for trading with the Siberian peoples.[38] Other Kobukmiut stayed inland, the men hunting as far as the Noatak, the women picking berries and fishing. In winter, the hunters returned and the community lived as much as possible off caribou and small game.

Europeans first visited the area around 1850, though firearms, etc., had preceded them. Stoney was the first recorded explorer (1883) in the area and after him came gold miners, who eventually left the area after the gold rush was over in the 1920's. By 1910, there was only one permanent settlement (Shungnak). Since then, other villages have been formed.

This particular Arctic Woodland culture, as it is described by Giddings[39] appears to be more than the phenomenon resulting from the union of two distinct forms of culture, i.e., Indian and Eskimo, even though it is the meeting ground of Athabascan and Eskimo cultures. Giddings suggests that it is a rather predictable combination of river fishing and forest hunting. In the past, this has been the dominant material culture of the inland river forest region regardless of which linguistic group happens to occupy the environment, and it is a culture that outlives the physical appearance, the speech patterns, and many other special practices of its participants.

The people who live in this area have been drawn from the Interior--

that is to say, from the Eskimo populations of the Brooks Range, and from coastal populations around Kotzebue Sound.[40] The present day villages of the Kobuk Region are descendents of loosely organized, compatible neighbor groups held together by intermarriage and social obligations. The village of the present had no special reason for existence before the arrival of the traders, missionaries, and teachers, whose benefactions could best be dispersed in a closely knit community. The people were similar to those of the Hotham Inlet and the Selawik River area, and had hostile relations with the Nunamiut and Noatak people, even though some of them were from that region.

The inhabitants were nomadic. A dwelling to them was a temporary exploitation of natural resources and an expression of personality in a time of particular need. As in the past, they depend today almost entirely upon the resources of streams, mountains, lakes and forests. Fish and caribou are the subsistence basis for survival.

Traditionally, social organization consisted of small, tightly knit kin groups in a male dominated society. Fathers taught their sons the necessary techniques of survival and the responsibilities of being a man. The mutual obligation of father and son in this region of Alaska was expressed in the importance of mortuary obligations. The son was obliged to make payments for assistance in the burial of the father and to honor his father with a death feast. Even today, burials are attended to with a great deal more ceremony here than in most other parts of Alaska, though the male dominance which led to this practice is under attack because of lack of employment and the independence available to women through state child support payments (which, here as elsewhere, have actively changed some aspects of social structure).

There were and are no particular social classes, but something similar to the Umeliks or rich men of the whale hunting villages of the coast existed (and to some extent still exist). The opinions of such men carried and still carry considerable weight in the community, as it was assumed that they had obtained their riches by being shrewd, diligent, and competent hunters. The

opinions of rich men and old men were held in highest regard, but were strongly influenced by the opinion of their wives. This particular tendency still exists.

Socialization practices were mild and children were taught to be adults through example and love rather than punishment. Social control in general was informal and punishments for infractions of taboos were either informal through group pressure or were specifically spiritual and carried out by the spirits.

In its dependency upon hunting and fishing, its acceptance of personal deviance, its generally mild socialization, its informal social control mechanisms, and, indeed, in much of its non-material culture, this area does not differ greatly from the other inland Eskimo areas of North Alaska.

Shungnak appears, on the surface, to be making the best present adjustment of all the villages in this area. This apparent progress is in some ways illusory in that it does not actually portend a long term existence for Shungnak, as we shall note.

Shungnak

Shungnak, a village of 153 people, is about 160 air miles east of Kotzebue, 30 air miles from Ambler, and 10 miles by water from Kobuk, at approximately 157.1°W Longitude and 66.8°N Latitude.

Shungnak, as Foote[41] notes, is the oldest established village in the Upper Kobuk. It might be said to be prototypical of this declining area, though it presently is economically sounder than others here.

The basic themes here are change and persistence as we have seen is the case for other villages which dominate the lives of the people. Population

out-migration is a serious problem, but the overriding impacts have been those of a cash economy and wide fluctuations in subsistence and wage work availability. That is, structural economic factors here have had a massive impact.

What is true for the general area of the Upper Kobuk is also true for Shungnak. By World War I, winter trapping and gold mining had come to be important income supplements to subsistence activity. By then, relations in Shungnak between Eskimos and local Indians had improved enough to permit joint feasts and there was enough money to finance them. The money garnered from gold mining also permitted the introduction of vegetables, flour, sugar, beans, and rice. Domesticated reindeer also were introduced.

However, bickerings and internal problems (possibly related to the different cultural backgrounds of the Indian and Eskimo Shungnakers) caused some people to move to Ambler River (1913), though they soon moved back again to Shungnak under government urging. Very little change in this prosperous, partly acculturated way of life occurred in Shungnak, however, until the collapse of the fur industry in the depression of the 1930's. Also, about this time, better transportation was introduced into the area, and this aided out-migration which was encouraged by the collapse of a money economy. But at the same time, many factors were coming together to create dramatic change. Pressures for change in this region, as Foote[42] notes,were fourfold:

1. Increased population caused by better health measures and reduced infant mortality created a population pressure;

2. Increased contact with whites created greater needs for trade goods and thereby money; but the depression brought about a decline in the number of jobs. Thus, the people were forced once again into the subsistence economy;

3. The disappearance of caribou induced the people to turn to reindeer and to change their hunting territory seasonally. However, for many of the reasons that it was unsuccessful elsewhere, reindeer herding finally failed though it was initially enthusiastically received. By 1940, the reindeer were all but gone, having contributed mostly to the cooking pot anyhow, and never having produced much cash income.

During this time, taking advantage of the fact that Noatakmiut were now all settled in Noatak, the Kobukmiut of Shungnak expanded their hunting into the Noatak valley.

4. The final major factor influencing change was that people were gathering in Shungnak to take advantage of social services such as schools. By 1938, only six children were not in school because their families were away from the village during the winter.

In the period 1940-64, the major changes in the area were an increase in fur prices (which increased the utility of trapping), the return of the caribou (which--combined with the attractions of a settled existence--reduced the hunting range of the Kobukmiut), and the opening of asbestos and jade mining due to World War II.

Again, we might note the characteristic boom/bust Arctic economy. Such an economy has helped to maintain a fatalistic attitude toward control of one's own destiny and paradoxically has made traditional subsistence activity always useful to fall back on. The more the cash economy impinged in this area, the less reliable it was seen to be.

There is further an abundance of game,[43] and this encourages the present predominant employment which is hunting and fishing. However, almost all the adult males work at least part time at the Bornite or other mines in the area and at other part time unskilled work. Therefore, most of the village men receive unemployment checks during the winter. The women are noted for their industry and are excellent skin sewers and basket makers. The sale of these items, plus the above mentioned employment and support, produces a cash income substantially greater than that which exists in other Upper Kobuk villages. It is important to note, however, that this cash income is seen as transitory in nature and affects Shungnak attitudes toward the outside world.

Nonetheless, the increased cash flow has had a significant effect on acculturation here. Many of the homes have modern equipment, and most of the families have a dogteam, boat, motor, and snow machine. There is an increase in the number of frame houses (as opposed to the older log cabin types), and

the community is currently building a community hall. There is already in the village an ANICA store and a privately owned pool hall.

Still, here as elsewhere, employment in the village itself is limited and consists of one ANICA store employee, one post office employee, one school janitor, one cook, one teacher, and one housekeeper. There are two Baptist missionaries (Baptists and Friends are the religious denominations in the village with the attendant bifurcation that this implies) and six other whites (teachers and their families).

Local government and social control is of the village council type. The council has control over the store's activities, but general social control, here as in other Eskimo villages, is informal.

The village, though more economically viable than the others in the area, is heavily dependent upon summer mine work for cash. Thus, the size of the village and its level of income probably will be related to the operations at the Bornite mine. This is even more apparent when looking at the impact of out-migration. In the age categories 20-40, there are only 11 men and 18 women, which is somewhat below an effectible normal distribution. There also has been a slow decline in the birth rate, most of which is attributable to birth control devices, though the absence of women 25-30 is an important factor. By and large, these various aspects of life, increased use of Western goods, decreased birth rate, and high (for the area) level of employment suggest a rapidly acculturating community. On the other hand, the uncertainty of employment, the need to rely on subsistence hunting and fishing, and the drastically reduced number of productive young and middle-aged adults suggests future problems for the community. Even with the advantages which Shungnak has over other Kobuk communities, it is still in serious difficulty.

Shungnak, though embedded in the same situation as other Northwest villages, has a fairly unique set of circumstances and problems. The disappearance of caribou earlier in the century led the Shungnak people rapidly

into the cash economy. Mining and construction work created a new kind of living pattern and social organization. With the reappearance of caribou, the Shungnak people have been able to reintegrate hunting. But, meanwhile, cash incomes have become less secure. In simple demographic terms, Shungnak does not appear to be viable in the long run.

The future for Shungnak, as for many villages, is not in its own hands. Much depends on the development of mining in the region. If mining once again becomes important, Shungnak will increase in size. Otherwise, it appears as if it will slowly fade away.

THE ISLANDS

The Island peoples are among the most interesting of North and West Alaska groups, primarily because they have maintained the older subsistence and social structural patterns more completely in the face of acculturative stress. Other Eskimos respect the "Eskimo-ness" of the "salt-water men." St. Lawrence Island is perhaps the best example of the way this subsistence activity has been integrated into some aspects of contemporary economic life. It is also an excellent example of the tremendous pressures for change due to exposure to Western ideas and material culture. A significant out-migration and breakdown of the old social order has been the result.

St. Lawrence Island

St. Lawrence Island long has been inhabited by Eskimos, and as recently as 1920 was still receiving immigrants from the Chuckchee Peninsula in Siberia. The island is some 1,800 square miles in area, and is situated southwest of Nome in the Bering Sea. It is 120 miles from the nearest Alaskan mainland point and is 40 miles from Siberia.

Historically, the inhabitants of the island were sea mammal hunters. Culturally, they were quite similar to other Asiatic or Siberian Eskimos, with a language somewhat distinct from that of either Northern or Soutnern Alaska Eskimos. Instead of the informal social organization centering around the men's house which characterized Alaska Eskimos in general, the St. Lawrence Islanders had no men's houses, but were organized in patrilineal, can-like units. The same reciprocity of obligations and belief in mutual aid characteristic of other Alaska Eskimos, however, also characterized them.[44]

The people lived in semi-subterranean dwellings and in covered caves in cliff-faces using seal oil lamps for heat, and, like most others in Alaska, were totally dependent on hunting for all aspects of their livelihood. As might be expected in such a society, physical debility was so feared that a strong man who had been severely injured or contracted an incurable illness would ask his peers to kill him, which they usually did with dispatch.

The people here were polygamous, and since female infanticide was practiced, there was always an excess of men over women. A young man had to work for his prospective father-in-law for a stated period to gain sexual rights to a woman. Girls often married early because of the sex imbalance, sometimes at age 16, but men often did not marry until age 30 or later.

The people tended to be cheerful and open, with the traditional permissive child rearing practices characteristic of Eskimo communities. But, while joking and teasing were acceptable, ridicule could and often did lead to murder. The Eskimos worked hard for what they saw as necessary, but completely avoided work that they did not like or which was not directed toward obvious necessary ends. Property rights were scrupulously guarded, but a man in need easily received help from others. The old were respected, seldom asked favors or advised, and never commanded. Decisions of social import were decided on a consensual basis within the clan.

Gambell

Gambell is an Eskimo village located at the extreme northwest of St.

Lawrence Island in the Bering Sea, at Latitude 63°N and Longitude 171°W. Situated on a gravel beach about 100 yards from the sea, Gambell is less than 40 miles from Siberia and about 225 miles from the nearest mainland point of Alaska. The population is 417 (1967 BIA estimate).

The nearness to the sea is symbolic of the way of life of the villagers. The Gambell Eskimos were sea mammal hunters and fishers and depend even now in large part upon the walrus to provide food for themselves and their dogs, skins for their boats, and ivory to carve into objects to sell for cash. Seals, ugruk, fish, and wildfowl round out the subsistence resources. Most of the food of the islanders is from wildlife, though some is from the reindeer herd on the island.

Here too, the themes of change and persistence, difficulties of contact with Western institutions, and out-migration are creating problems. But the problems of St. Lawrence Island have a somewhat different dimension than those we have noted for other villages. The relationship between subsistence hunting and cash economies is weighted heavily toward hunting, but there is much cash. A superabundance of marine mammals, primarily walrus, means that food is not a problem. On the other hand, the existence of defense installations has meant substantial opportunity for cash incomes for a few of the island population (but unlike Barter Island--not for all).

Here, perhaps even more than in most other villages, the very intensity of white (Army)--Eskimo contact has created desires to be "white" (that is, to attain Western goods and values) among many of the young people. A corresponding lack of entry into the Western world (except for some girls who marry soldiers) has created tensions that are presently not being resolved.

The population has been steadily rising through time and the continued steady rise in population size is probably because subsistence resources are adequate for food and significant for cash income as well. Forty-four thousand dollars of the $194,000 total income of the village in 1965 came from

the sale of products derived from the subsistence economy.[45] There is some reason to believe, as Patterson notes, that even more income could be derived from subsistence sources.

This is especially true if white fox pelts and walrus meat prices hold up. At the present time, in fact, there is growing interest in and development of the once dormant skin sewing industry, to provide garments for sale to tourists and others in Nome.

A small number (8) of permanent jobs and some temporary ones provide about $40,000 a year in income. Twenty-five thousand dollars in National Guard salaries, and some $53,000 in government transfer payments and government aid programs make up the bulk of the cash income.

Gambell then appears to be a village with a remarkably well integrated subsistence and cash economy. Communications on the island are good, and people often travel to Savoonga some 30 miles away by skinboat or dog team (though there is a growing demand for snow machines), and more recently by air.

Nevertheless, there is no simple way to characterize acculturation in Gambell. Comparing the 1940 era to 1954, Hughes[46] noted that significant changes had begun to occur in almost all aspects of village life. These were greatly accelerated by the presence of armed services personnel. Uncertainties about natural conditions such as weather and presence of game were exacerbated by uncertainties about money.

The issue of personal pathology resulting from intense contact, for which we have clear evidence in Gambell, is perhaps more critical than problems attendant on some simple change in technology and it centers about the problem of personal identity, a critical issue in Gambell. Not only do contacts with missionaries and agencies cause inevitable disruptions, here as elsewhere, (with little attempt on anyone's part to ameliorate the disruptive

effects), but other contacts reinforce these changes and the negative self-images resulting from them.

This is especially true for girls working as maids and those who came into contact with soldiers. Young Eskimo girls soon learn from their employers how "backward" Eskimos are. This is reinforced in a girl's mind by the material possessions, electrical appliances, and labor saving devices that whites have and Eskimos do not. Many girls decided under these conditions that they would never marry some "dumb, poor Eskimo." The concurrent past availability of white soldiers made this resolve seem almost plausible, and indeed some (usually the prettiest) of the local girls did marry soldiers. Since arranged marriages had been the cultural norm, and since Eskimo parents would not arrange marriages with soldiers, the girls put great pressure on the system to do away with arranged marriages. This entire situation increased the dissatisfaction of young Eskimo men with themselves and their lot. Intense antagonism toward whites developed as young male Eskimos began to feel themselves to be clearly less desirable marriage (or even casual sexual) partners than white soldiers.

One of the primary problems connected with such a phenomenon is the change in the "reference group" that the young seek to emulate.[47] No longer do the young wish to remain Eskimo, but white models are impossible of achievement and degrading to the Eskimo self-image.

The tremendous impact of an Army base (now gone) and the resultant illegitimacies, disruption of social control, and excessive drinking all created problems that the villages have not presently solved, but have learned to live with. Attempts to solve these new problems have been varied: some individuals have become as involved as possible in the cash economy; some have attempted total white identity; and others have retreated from white ways.

Changes also have occurred in the social organization of the community. From a reindeer reservation in 1903, Gambell became a village under the Indian Reorganization Act in 1939, and finally a fourth class city in 1964. There is

a native store and it, plus the school, are the physical foci of the village. Two coffee shops, an ice cream and coffee shop, a short order restaurant, the Presbyterian Church, and the Armory round out the centers of recreational activity.

Moreover, here as in other villages we have noted, old charismatic leaders, whose power was based on shamanistic or hunting ability,[48] are giving way, at first to white missionary control, but more recently to an effective village council, and finally to very dissatisfied younger men. While the villagers attempt to handle these problems, they are rendered impotent by the fact that more and more young people are becoming oriented toward Nome, which offers recreation and excitement beyond that Gambell can offer. Nome also offers a little more employment than Gambell. Nevertheless, the older villagers seem firmly attached to Gambell, and though great changes are being wrought in their lives, most probably will stay for the foreseeable future.

Here there is perhaps even more intense pressure to change than in many small villages. Massive recent contact with (by village standards) incredibly wealthier whites has created desires for western goods and life ways. The availability of white sex partners for Eskimo girls created the illusion of possible escape, put traditional marriage patterns under attack and created severe antagonism to whites, as well as depression and self-hate among young Eskimo men. These pressures to identify out of Gambell have become focussed on Nome which, as we shall see, is no solution for Gambell.

This was further complicated by the fact that though there is a sizable cash inflow, it is not evenly distributed among all men as is the case in Barter Island. For both reasons, those of desparate access to cash and changed self-perception and desire to emulate white ways by the young, there are strong problems of social control. The older leaders do not have the same force over the young as in Barter Island, and the attendant confusion and disruptions that lie beneath a relatively placid exterior seem fairly severe.

This is finally exacerbated by the movement of many Eskimos from

Gambell (as from other nearby communities) into Nome. Nome, as we shall note, while attractive to Eskimos, does not provide for their newly felt need as well as the villagers might hope; in fact, Nome may act to complete personal and social disruption for many in a way perhaps more serious than is the case in Barrow and Kotzebue.

NOME

In an earlier publication,[49] I have discussed something of the general pattern of movement from small to larger villages for Alaska Eskimos. In comparing Kotzebue and Barrow, I noted that Barrow appeared to be a "healthier" community than Kotzebue and attributed this to a greater involvement of local indigenous peoples there in their self-government, and the possibility for significant validation of Eskimo norms through whale and caribou hunting for subsistence.

In addition, the Eskimos in Barrow, if not homogenous, certainly come from a very small number of places for the most part, and there is a long proud tradition of Eskimo independence at Barrow which aids in the present relatively self-secure attitude on the part of many Barrow Eskimos.

All of these positive factors are either absent or diminished to some extent in Kotzebue--and hence Kotzebue Eskimos exhibit more malaise generally and more evidences of what are broadly termed social pathologies.

I also noted the extraordinary impact of formal educational systems on apparent Eskimo self-perception and white/native perception. Very briefly, Eskimo traditional culture could be characterized[50] as relatively open--that is, permissive and non-directive when compared with Euro-American culture. Eskimo children are weaned and toilet trained so gently that very little strain seems imposed on infant/mother relationships in these areas. Children tend to be fed on their own demand, set their own playing and sleeping schedules and, in general, are granted a relatively high degree of autonomy from an early age.

This very open socialization tends to create what might be termed an "oral optimist." Eskimos appear to have excellent executive ego functions and a high degree of confidence. On the other hand, Eskimos are essentially,

it appears, intolerant of frustration and have a reduced capacity for dealing with it. In a parallel and related fashion Eskimos are trained against interpersonal aggression. Eskimos consider it intolerable to tell a man what to do, or to shout at or to strike him. Children are almost never corporally punished,[51] and would-be conflict situations are avoided.

Eskimos are capable of intensive and extensive physical and mental labor directed toward ends which have observably pragmatic possibility and necessity. When such activity is not deemed immediately necessary they feel no need to engage in compulsive time filling activity. Thus, attitudes toward time and the scheduling of human activities are very flexible.[52]

The Euro-American school system seems almost expressly designed to create conflict for such children. Adults in such a system regiment children's bodies, make time oriented demands on them, force them to compete with each other, speak loudly (thus perceived as aggressively) to children, and tell them what to think and how to do it.

This is an extraordinary emotional trauma as large numbers of Eskimos of all ages have recounted to me. Yet these shocks are actually attendent upon getting a "good" teacher. A bad one adds to this racial and cultural discrimination and denigration and a belief in the impossibility for such children to achieve. Not surprisingly few children do.

Nome, I believe, exhibits the problems of quasi-urban acculturation and educational shock in perhaps the most exacerbated form I have encountered in Alaska, and perhaps its most severe instance is in the educational system.

If Barrow is an essentially well integrated community showing some signs of strain around the edges and Kotzebue a community where destructive influences are well underway and perhaps winning out over the basic health of the community, Nome exemplifies a different stage in the acculturative process for Alaska Eskimos. Eskimos are more powerless here than in either Kotzebue or Barrow, and white racism is more prevalent. Work is less available

but many of the Nome Eskimos have not yet developed a consciousness of their position or vociferous objections to it.

Nome is a first class city near the western end of the south edge of the Seward Peninsula located at Latitude 64°34'N, Longitude 165°30' W. It is the largest community in Northwest Alaska, having a 1967 population (BIA estimate) of 2,800, some 850 of whom are whites.

There is no extant literature on the natives of Nome. This, in part, reflects the short period of time in which natives have lived here in any numbers and also reflects the general lack of good ethnographic material concerning the Seward Peninsula. Broadly speaking, however, most of the cultural characteristics of the Eskimos of Northwest Alaska are true of the Eskimos here as well.

Indigenous Political Control

Local political control is both indigenous (many whites have been here a long time) and strongly white. Here even more than in Kotzebue, local political control is out of the hands of natives. The same reasons which apply in Kotzebue appear to apply here as well, but they operate with greater strength. In Barrow, there is a long tradition of indigenous settlement which, when combined with more enlightened white attitudes, results in effective native political control. In Kotzebue, there is a history of native settlement, massive in-migration of natives, and the particular quality of white/native contact that has led to minimal native leadership. In Nome, on the other hand, there is no tradition of native settlement, all natives are in-migrants and a dominant ethos of racial prejudice militates strongly against native involvement in local government. (This is so even though many white community leaders do not share the dominant racist ethos.)[53]

First of all, there is the fact of the composition of the native population. The local native population is extremely heterogeneous. The recent

influx of King Islanders and Diomede people, the steady in-migration to Nome of people who originally lived all over the Seward Peninsula, and some migration of St. Lawrence Islanders has hampered the development of strong local native leadership even more than in Kotzebue. There is, in fact, no evidence that most of the native inhabitants of Nome have any emotional attachment to Nome itself at all, at least in the way in which Eskimos at Barrow respond to Barrow.

The King Islanders, for example, whose present social structure is organized almost entirely around the men's house (Kozga) and whose group leadership is based on age sets such as "skin boat group," are quite distinct from the rest of the native population in Nome. "Skin boat groups," made up of men who are by formal kinship and informal ties seen as a work unit, provide social cohesion among the King Islanders at a higher level than it exists among other Nome natives.

Even seating in the men's house, where nearly all the local ivory carving is done[54] is by rank and position in this complex social grouping. Men, for example, from King Island who have married women from other villages, thus reducing their own social status in the men's house, are usually unable to stand the subtle and not so subtle verbal abuse they would receive there and are "dropouts" who carve elsewhere in the town.

The King Islanders are almost all Catholic; this too sets them off from some of the other villagers, and because of some 30 years under the leadership of an almost theocratic Jesuit missionary while on King Island, have become very puritanical about such things as divorce and cleanliness. They are thus understandably antagonistic to the Diomeders who, being much less acculturated, have a system of divorce which functions by local report much as the aboriginal wife lending patterns. Witchcraft and sorcery, probable practicing shamanism, distrust of whites, lack of concern over Euro-American standards of cleanliness, and an almost paranoid fear of Russians make the Diomeders quite distinguishable from other groups.

Moreover, all the deep water people are seen as different by the Seward Peninsula people. This is in part because there are actual linguistic differences, in part because of "natural" enmity between villages, and partly because of differences based on various levels of acculturation. Many local natives who have internalized "white" attitudes and beliefs have come to despise all things Eskimo. Their outspoken anti-native hostility is just as important a factor in exacerbating interracial tensions as any of the most racist attitudes of whites.

Income and Employment and Subsistence Hunting

With the decline of mining in the area, the employment picture for natives has become bleak in the extreme.

Nome first was established as a mining town around the turn of the century in response to the gold mining boom of that era in the Seward Peninsula. It reached a probable population of over 20,000 in the early years of the century, but almost none of this was Alaska Eskimo. As mining became progressively less relevant and economically feasible, the town population declined until the late 30's and early 40's when the Eskimo population began to increase. By the late 50's, it was clear that Nome was on the way to becoming more "native" than "white," a phenomenon which has had extremely important effects upon the town and quality of life there.

Employment opportunities vary greatly in Nome depending upon race and education level, both of which are highly correlated in Nome. Of the approximately 850 whites in Nome, many are transients who work for federal or state agencies or who teach at Beltz Regional High School or at the Nome City Grade and High Schools. Probably less than half (though such figures can not be absolute) of the whites are long term residents. There are in town six bars, eight churches, three eating establishments, three hotels, two large stores and a handful of smaller enterprises and municipal activities which provide employment both for natives and whites.

Native unemployment or underemployment is rampant. Unlike life in the small villages where subsistence hunting and fishing compensates partly for the markedly low income, there is only minimal hunting and fishing on the part of the Nome population. This is primarily due to the lack of large land and sea mammals within reach of easy hunting. In any event, there is a widely felt need for cash in Nome, similar to that in Kotzebue.

There has been periodic discussion about reindeer in the area and a long history of attempts to introduce reindeer herding as a commercial enterprise for natives. However, reindeer herding as a commercially significant operation employs a limited number of people. There are many reasons for this. In part, the early attempts at introducing reindeer herding failed since herding responsibility was separated from management and marketing, with natives unable to enter the latter domains. In part, the tendency of reindeer to drift away into caribou herds, legal problems concerning the slaughter and sale of reindeer meat, and inadequate marketing structures exacerbated the problems.[55] In any event, reindeer herding is an often discussed but economically unimportant addition to the local economy.

There are few wildlife resources. No significant hunting or fishing exists, but there is some fox trapping. Although the Bureau of Indian Affairs is interested in encouraging the formation of a small electronics component fabrication plant here, nothing has yet come of it.

The only potential bright spot in the economic picture at present is tourism. Numbers of tourists are increasing, and the jobs generated by tourism may go a long way toward taking up the "slack" now filled essentially by welfare and social security transfer payments.

Thus, with whites maintaining control of the bulk of the well-paid occupations, and the almost complete lack of subsistence activity on the part of natives, the economic development of Nome natives remains at a very low level.

Interracial Contacts

Nome is a city with severe racial tensions. It is in a state of dramatic change in population, employment, level of required services, and interracial communication, and there are inevitable difficulties arising from this situation.

First of all, though it is difficult to determine wtth precision due to state law and other factors, it appears incontrovertible that employment levels are substantially higher among whites than natives. Most federal and state agency people and nearly all white collar city employees are white. Native employment is sporadic, irregular, and primarily unskilled or semi-skilled (including, of course, ivory carving, etc.). Some natives see this as discriminatory--though in actuality there simply does not exist any large number of unskilled jobs in Nome which could be filled by natives at this time.

The white population is, of course, not homogeneous in its work or its attitudes. Some of the older Nomeites are disturbed by the shift in population, which means that natives can now outvote whites if they organize to do so. In this group are some prejudiced whites who consider natives as inherently worthless, shiftless, and stupid, and who exhibit overt behavior toward natives reminiscent of southern U.S. rural whites of the 1930's and 1940's.

Many other whites are in service agencies of one type or another, and depending upon their length of service, sophistication, and degree of altruistic commitment, they may exhibit attitudes which are either unrealistically sentimental about natives or which show them to be cynically serving time as dispassionately as possible. Of course, there are those few who maintain a commitment to service without naivete or cynicism. These are few. Those who have maintained a personal commitment confess themselves at a loss to effect change; in part, this is because it is difficult to be certain about proper directions of change. Others, less sophisticated, seem to have a plethora of simple "solutions" and a paucity of interest in the problems associated with

the implementation of their schemes.

Obviously, such caricatures do not exhaust the "character types" in Nome, but they are enough in evidence to make it appear that Nome is substantially different than Barrow and Kotzebue in these regards.

As we have noted, however, such difficulties do not occur in a vacuum and part of the problem for Nome is economic.

Mining, once its mainstay, is declining and offers very few jobs. As ocean-going vessels must unload standing offshore of the Nome shallows, lightering is used but nonetheless employs only a few men. Even this work is decreasing because of the decreasing number of white consumers in Nome. (All consumer products must be shipped into Nome from the "lower 48," as elsewhere in Alaska.) Local tertiary employment is limited, and handicrafts--though still of sizeable economic significance--are dying out. Younger men do not wish to do anything so "stupid and Eskimo" as carving. Older men carve only to get what money they want for immediate use.

The abandonment of mining and the general reduction of jobs in the area has meant the slow but sure erosion of the white population in basic industries. This, in turn, has shrunk the tax base. This shrunken tax base is being forced to provide heavier services (primarily through the municipal school system) as more and more natives move into town. (Nome is a first class city and thus under Alaska law has a number of social service obligations, especially educational.) Alaska Eskimos, moreover, have access to free medical help through the local hospital, which is a contractor to the Public Health Service. Local whites do not. Area natives can be educated at Beltz Regional High School, which is operated by the state. The Nome white high school age children must attend the local high school with its dilapidated physical plant, underpaid teachers, and crowded classes. Many whites do not like to see natives from Nome using the locally supported school and would like them to attend the state supported regional school just outside Nome.

Inevitably, racial tensions arise.

Local business men complain that natives are irresponsible, will not show up for work, are lazy, etc., but persist in keeping such "shiftless" people on the payroll (at least in part, one suspects, to help the local whites maintain their own self-image). Responsible local citizens are "concerned" over the erosion of values which supposedly accompanies the high welfare rate in Nome. Many express the belief that welfare is a direct gift to highly unworthy recipients. In the community at large and even among school teachers, there is considerable denigration of native scholastic abilities and motivation. In 1968, when one of the local native boys received a scholarship to Harvard, the result--instead of pleased feelings--was hostility, jealousy, and animosity among whites. Claims of segregation in reverse, "uppity natives getting smart ideas," and disbelief that any native could have done such a thing on his own merits were easily elicited.

The Schools

Perhaps even more indicative of this attitude, the local high school principal wrote to Harvard suggesting that the young Eskimo was "deficient in social skills" and thus by implication not ready for Harvard.[56]

Possibly the most important focal point of the antagonism and discontent is in the local school system. As we have noted, the local economic situation has created severe strains upon the town's ability to support its school system. The discontent over the increasing number of natives is reflected in the ambivalent feelings that teachers express toward the "track" system used in the Nome school.

The Nome school separates children on a perceived ability basis into three tracks for every grade. The A Track is made up of those students perceived to be highly motivated and intelligent, the C Track consists of almost "hopeless" academic cases, and the B Track is intermediate. There tends to be a high correlation between race and track. Natives make up for the bulk of

the C Track students, while whites dominate the A Track students. C Track students are perceived as inadequate, uninterested, irresponsible beings who are custodial problems. Not surprisingly, this series of expectations is well borne out.

Students treated in this manner soon become inadequate, unmotivated, and unresponsive custodial problems, thus confirming teacher expectations. Native student self-perception suffers, and a rationale for further prejudice is developed. One of the best examples of this prejudice is the controversy surrounding the "Upward Bound" program for Nome. Upward Bound, an OEO program aimed at furthering educational attainments of native students by taking special care with them in school, taking them on trips to Anchorage and Fairbanks and encouraging them to think about college, has been the victim of an unremitting campaign of hostility by some local whites.

Some local school people have complained that this creates a "school within a school," gives special attention to natives (many would like their own children to be part of it), encourages natives to get "uppity," takes them out of school for two days a year (while no concern is ever expressed over the lost time of the basketball team), and is generally unworkable. However, in 1968, reputedly for the first time ever, two King Island children graduated from high school, and the native boy who had received a scholarship to Harvard did so after being in Upward Bound (he had been a C Track student).

From the comments of some local teachers there has been strong local pressure to make native children in Upward Bound feel as though they were doing something wrong and, at present (1968), the guidance counselor is not using Upward Bound as an outreach technique, is not seeking out students for this assistance, and has sent so few applications for children in this program to the central office that the Upward Bound Program in Nome has been dramatically reduced. By and large, many local school people and a significant number of influential townspeople feel "Upward Bound" is bad for natives (in some undefined way), and is reverse discrimination against whites.

The Police Force

Not all interracial contacts in Nome are negative, and some whites express remarkable sophistication about these interrelationships. If the school system expressed one pole of the problem, the local police force represents another.

The local police are a remarkable example of formal social control with a personal touch. The force is about as thoroughly integrated racially as possible. The chief is a Negro, one patrolman is an Eskimo, the other a Caucasian. The local public safety director and all the members of the force share a belief somewhat at variance with that expressed by many of the "older" residents. They are aware of cultural differences, the economic problems of the town, and the existence of local racial tensions, and they perceive their function primarily as peacekeeping rather than enforcing Christian morality, though many townspeople would prefer that they were enforcers of white moral codes, especially in the area of the "alcohol problem."

In discussing the "alcohol problem," the police indicated an awareness of the differential patterns of drinking between whites and natives and suggest that most "drunk" arrests which they make are simply to avoid fights and to protect people from the elements. The mayor would go farther and try to eliminate as many of such arrests as possible. The mayor and the city police also are aware of the sometimes disruptive effect of the large number (14) of primarily fundamentalist preachers in town. Religious differences split local people as clearly and surely as racial and inter-ethnic differences. Further, the guilt developed by viscious attacks from local preachers over their "non-puritan" attitudes towards sex, eating, elimination, and work is in the police view partly responsible for some of the aggressiveness associated with alcoholic consumption.

The police, however, characterize the local population as relatively quiet, non-violent, and fairly easily controlled. If they saw any major

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police problems in Nome, they did not admit to them.

Health and Medical Conditions

Another dimension to the problems of the area is seen by the local doctor at Maynard MacDougal Hospital, a private hospital under contract to PHS to service natives free of charge. Generally, health problems in the area center around upper respiratory infections, otitis media (a middle ear infection) and venereal disease, which is mostly gonorrhea (a common problem for native Alaska). Some of these problems seem to be related to substandard housing and others to poor sanitation (a local civic responsibility), as well as to private sanitation practices. For example, a honey bucket system of human waste collection is in use among most native residents since most of them are not yet "hooked into" the local sewage system.

The local "alcohol problem" here, as we have noted elsewhere for Northwest Alaska,[57] is of a different nature than is customarily perceived. The medical officer here found no medical evidence of cirrhosis, laryngeal problems, or any of the other physical effects of prolonged heavy drinking among the native population. There is, however, evidence of actual alcoholism among the local white population. Both whites and natives tend to perceive natives as having an alcohol problem, but neither group is aware of the level of alcoholism in the white community.

Alcoholic consumption among natives, however, is not entirely benign. Child abuse and neglect and marital physical violence are common results of intense drinking bouts. On the other hand, the fact that most drinking by natives is spree drinking reduces the medically disastrous consequences of alcohol consumption for them. Nonetheless, overt heavy drinking by natives confirms white prejudices about the "barbaric" state of Eskimos, and unless Nome Eskimos are different from others in the state, it probably adds to their own lack of self-respect.

Natives in Nome, according to the hospital personnel, appear to have a high level of emotional integration, especially in light of their severe acculturative stress. Problems arise when identity conflicts are created by native identification with white values, but in the face of an intense public and private anti-native pressure the level of emotional stability exhibited seems high. (There is little suicide for example, very little evidence of hysteric reactions and a minimal level of violence.) Suicide threats, however, are alarmingly common at Beltz Regional High School according to local teachers, and there is evidence of large scale identity crisis among its population in their view. This, we suspect, reflects the increasing identity crisis for those younger Alaska native generations.

Conclusions

Nome has special and severe problems. They are, however, the same problems, generally, which are facing the people of Northwest Alaska. They are felt in Nome in peculiarly exacerbated form for the reasons we have noted. The future of Nome, however, is inextricably intertwined with that of the Northwest region as a whole.

THE VILLAGES: A SUMMATION

The state of the Alaska native population of Northwest Alaska has essentially the following dimensions:

1. Many people still reside in small villages where:
   a. there is little work,
   b. educational opportunities are limited, and
   c. there is little opportunity to get in the Western world.

At the same time that:

   d. although subsistence hunting and fishing is generally available, fewer young people are interested in it, and
   e. older cultural patterns have either disappeared or (as in the case of values, philosophy, child rearing, etc.) have gone "underground" and, when recognized, are despised by many of their practitioners.

2. The systematic denigration of what is native, both at the hands of white culture change agents and natives themselves and minimal economic oppcrtunities in the village have led to:
   a. a depopulation of the villages by younger adults, and
   b. an increased feeling of estrangement from the larger society by the remaining population.

3. Other factors such as the state of health, large numbers of children, scholastic deficiencies, and a general dissatisfaction with life in the village have complexly intertwined with the above to result in:
   a. a large scale out-migration to the larger villages where there are increasing problems of lack of control over one's personal destiny,
   b. inadequate income opportunities to match rising consumer expectations,
   c. growing tension in white-Eskimo contacts, and
   d. deepseated resentments and feelings of personal inadequacy on the part of natives.

The final result--movement to Fairbanks, Anchorage, or out of the state from the small and large villages--is so poorly understood at present that very little can be said about it.

Why then has this occurred? Change may be inevitable, but change need not always, nor does it always, lead to personal pathology. Diamond Jenness[58] suggests that the long term social problem of white/native contact in Alaska has been that, while the U.S. Government has attempted to provide material and educational benefits for the native population, little has been done to assure economic stability for these same natives.

We would argue that the actual case is more complex. It is in the interaction of an ethnocentric "white" educational system, the introduction of material goods which are not of easy access to natives, and the overall climate of denigration of native culture and personality, that the present conditions of life in these big villages has come about.

Overall, a decreasing infant mortality rate, increasing desires for cash, increasing awareness of and desire for medical and educational facilities, and greater ease of travel from small to large villages has tended to concentrate more and more Eskimos in these large villages.[59] There, faced with inadequate work to provide their needed income, racial discrimination and intensity of cultural shock, Eskimos inevitably begin to exhibit the kinds of behavior we have indicated. The potential for a healthier adaptation in these villages does not appear imminent to us. Instead, we believe these villages will incubate further social problems for the large cities which we suspect are the next stop for Alaska's Eskimos.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Elsewhere, I have noted the difficulties attendent upon moving into the larger quasi-urban communities (Hippler, 1969a).

[2]However, many Eskimos will probably remain in small villages for some time. (See Hippler, 1969b)

[3]See Hughes, 1960; Van Stone, 1962; Gubser, 1965; Lantis, 1946; and Chance, 1966 for an introduction to the literature.

[4]See Spencer, 1959; Gubser, 1965.

[5]See Giddings, 1961.

[6]See E. Nelson, 1900.

[7]See Oswalt, 1967.

[8]See Parker, 1964.

[9]See Chance, 1966.

[10]See Chance, Hsien, Hung, 1966.

[11]See Chance 1960, 1965, and 1966.

[12]See Hippler, 1969b.

[13]See Rainey, 1947.

[14]See Foote and Williamson, 1966.

[15]See Van Stone 1957, 1958a, 1958b, 1960, 1962, 1964, and Van Stone and Oswalt, 1960.

[16]See Van Stone, 1958.

[17]See Nelson, 1900.

[18]See Foote and Williamson, 1966.

[19]See Van Stone, 1958.

[20]See Van Stone, 1958b, 1962.

[21]See Van Stone, 1960.

[22]See Van Stone, 1962.

[23]See Murphy and Steward, 1956.

[24]See Saario and Kessel, 1966.

[25]See Saario and Kessel, 1966.

[26]See Foote and Williamson, 1966.

[27]See Lucier, 1958; Healy, et.al., 1887.

[28]See Feejes, 1966.

[29]See Foote, 1967, personal communication.

[30]See Foote and Williamson, 1966.

[31]See Smith, 1966.

[32]See Edward Hall, 1967, personal communication.

[33]Hall, personal communication.

[34]See Feejes, 1966.

[35]See Hall, 1967, personal communication.

[36]See Hall, 1967.

[37]See Stoney, 1900.

[38]See Foote, 1966.

[39]See Giddings, 1952.

[40]See Giddings, 1961.

[41]See Foote, 1966.

[42]See Foote, 1966.

[43]See Foote, 1966.

[44]See Introductory information from Hughes, 1966; Moore, 1923; and Shinen, 1963.

[45]See Art Patterson, 1966, personal communication.

[46]See Hughes, 1960.

[47]See Hughes, 1957.

[48]See Hughes, 1966.

[49]See Hippler, 1969b.

[50]See Hippler, 1969b.

[51]This, of course, is not to deny the presence of the "battered child" syndrom among families where the parents drink alcohol to excess.

[52]Such generalizations run the risk of sounding like caricatures. They are, however, meant to indicate a general style of life value system and broadly stated cultural personality configurations. I am aware of the caveats in such kinds of descriptive statements, and indeed have made them myself. Moreover, the child rearing situation is much more complex than this, and aggressive tendencies do have explosive outlets here as elsewhere. I am currently preparing much more detailed analyses of these questions and the reader is merely referred to one of the standard ethnographic references on Eskimos to support these very broad generalizations.

[53]I am aware of the inflammatory nature of the term racist when used to describe a milieu. I can only note that this term seems closer to descriptively accurate than any less opprobrious one I might have chosen.

[54]Personal communication with Sergei Bogojavlensky, linguistic and anthropological field worker in Nome.

[55]See Dean Olson, 1969.

[56]Personal communication. (Harvard was not moved by this missive.)

[57]See Hippler, 1969b.

[58]See Jenness, 1962.

[59]Nonetheless, small village populations tend to remain high as a result of the dramatically decreased infant mortality rate. See Hippler (1969a).

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